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Nearly all of the boats are equipped with a coconut shell or bamboo bailer. One baroto had a hole in the bottom of the hull, from which a wooden plug could be removed to empty the boat of water. Paddles (borsay) are made from a light, sturdy wood. When boats are beached they usually are covered with palm fronds to protect them from the heat and rain. Some large bancas are kept in palm leaf sheds when not in use.

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A young boy who lives in a seaside barrio becomes adept at handling a baroto; the young girls have less chance to learn. While women may ride as passengers in boats they rarely, if ever, go fishing; almost all aspects of pelagic fishing are masculine. No toy boats or small boats were seen in the fishing barrios for teaching young boys skills necessary when they become adults.

Summary

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Securing aquatic products, from creeks, rivers and sea, consumes more time on the part of the barriofolk than any other activity except agriculture. It is necessary to make traps and nets, keep them in repair, and inspect them for catches. The people of Caticugan, however, depended little upon the sea for aquatic foods although the community is near the coast. When the cost of a fish corral is known, it is apparent that most barriofolk lack the necessary capital for the initial investment in boat, nets, building supplies, etc. Although a bobo trap could be made by most of the Caticugan barriofolk, one reason why so few have bobos is the lack of a boat. No

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underemployment of the barriofolk.[2] Most of these cottage industries aim at producing export handicrafts or luxury items. Perhaps most important is the changing attitudes of the barriofolk toward their own handicrafts. Abaca clothing is felt, by many young folk, to be a symbol of a rustic. The barriofolk claim that they can buy better and cheaper pottery than they can make. With the expanding role of money in the general economy, fewer people make handicrafts for bartering. As a result, in Caticugan, the younger generation, particularly women, grows up without training in basic handicrafts of their forefathers, and with an attitude that such training is neither desirable nor important.

[291 369] [437] [868]

This chapter deals with the following handicrafts that still exist in Caticugan and vicinity: (1) pottery; (2) buri weaving and basketry; (3) abaca weaving; and (4) woodwork, i.e., making wooden saddles and carved wooden bolo handles.

POTTERY

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There are an estimated 20,000 potters in the Philippines. "Much of the work is done by women who sit beneath

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[2] Recently a crafts team was sent to the Philippines under the auspices of the Economic Cooperation Administration and the United Nations. It consisted of a furniture designer, a wood products designer, and a textile expert, Marianne Hammarstrom. The unpublished Hammarstrom report has been briefly, and somewhat inaccurately, summarized by Will Savoy, "Philippine Weavers Learn New Techniques," Department of State Field Reporter, I, No. 2 (September-October, 1952), pp. 13-4. I was able to secure a typescript copy of the original report.

owing to firing difficulties. Most of my material on techniques of pottery was obtained from this cooperative Datag potter. 323 178

Most clay cooking pots now used in Caticugan are made in Dumaguete city. In this city there is a district, Daro, that specializes in the manufacture of cooking pots, clay stoves and large waterjars for drinking purpose. Some pots sold in Siaton poblacion are made in Mayabon, Zamboanguita, but are regarded as inferior to Daro's products. Mayabon is situated in a small enclave of Dauin clay that may explain the small pottery industry. (See Plate X, page 64.) A family came to Siaton from Daro in 1951 and started to make clay pots for sale in the poblacion; the business did not succeed and after several months they left. 323 369 438 [134]

The decline of pottery in Caticugan and environs is due largely to improvement of transportation facilities in southern Negros. The superior clay wares of Dumaguete became easier to buy in Siaton poblacion. Better transportation facilities increased both the number and frequency of visits to the city. The pots became so cheap that the barriofolk preferred to buy rather than make them. One old woman of Caticugan explained: "I stopped making pots because it is hard work. I would get sick always having my hands in the cold clay, squeezing it. And they are very cheap to buy." 323 369 438 178 489

As older women ceased their pottery activities, their daughters were not taught the technique. With a 323 [868] 178

supports. (See Plate LXXII, 4 and 22.)[1] Unlike the looms in Ilocos that are built underneath the house, using the upright beams supporting the dwelling for part of the loom structure, Caticugan looms are kept inside the dwelling. The loom is a Malayan horizontal type with two foot treadles that manipulate two cord heddles for speedy intercalation of the spool shuttle.[11] The weaving product is a coarsely-woven stiff fabric called abaca (Cebuano: hinabol).

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Nearly all women who wove abaca said they learned the technique from their mothers; one informant said she was taught by her father who had learned from his mother. A few men were said to weave, although no men living in Caticugan did so.

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Stripping the fibers from the abaca plant and building the loom are a man's work, whereas the processing of the fiber, weaving and the final preparation of the cloth are a woman's work. Several older women in Caticugan were able to weave when they were in their early teens. There was one abandoned loom in Caticugan that the owner said was smaller than the normal loom; it had been used by a mother to teach the girl to weave. Normally, however a girl learns to weave on the regular-size loom.

No abaca is grown in Caticugan so the fibers must be purchased from abaca-growing communities. This may be a minor factor in the decline of weaving in Caticugan.

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[11] On this matter see the articles by H. Ling Roth, "Studies in Primitive Looms, Part III: 6. Indonesian Looms," The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, XLVII, 1917, pp. 323-66.

1 [See p.710, cat. 286--Analyst]

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Then the pounded thread is sorted for size, a process called tog-ot.[13] One of the first tasks taught a young girl learning to weave is to sort thread. Five different sizes of thread based on its thickness as determined by the weaver's sight and touch are sorted. These five classes of thread are, from the thickest to the thinnest, respectively: dagku; halan-avon; okvot; katung-an; and magamaya. Halan-avon is the most plentiful in the abaca hanks (gatang) purchased by weavers.

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Bonos: Tieing

The second step, bonos, is tying the various thread sizes into one continuous thread, e.g., all dagku threads are tied together.[14] A weaver's knot (dogkong) is used to joint the individual threads. (See Plate LXXIII below.)

PLATE LXXIII

DOGKONG KNOT

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[13] In Bacong, Negros Oriental, tog-ot is begun at high tide, the belief being that this will increase the number of the fibers. Timoteo S. Oracion and Avelino T. Torres, "Some Notes on the Weaving of Abaca Cloth in Bacong, Negros Oriental, Philippines." Dumaguete, Silliman University, Negros Oriental, Philippines, 1953, p. 4. Typescript.

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[14] In Bacong bonos is done at high tide. Kapinan shells and homemade wooden combs are placed in kalalay baskets to increase the length of abaca fibers. It may be that the purpose of the combs is to prevent the fibers from tangling. Ibid., p. 5.

discouraged most women who know how to weave. Since no abaca is grown near Caticugan, it is necessary to make a long, tiring trip to the mountain sainsins of the north. Weavers of Caticugan probably would have woven more if abaca had been cheaper and easier to obtain.

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Second, abaca fabric is stiff and scratchy; soaking and pounding the material helps but it remains uncomfortable to wear. Third, the younger generation, for the most part, is prejudiced against abaca clothing that they regard as a symbol of rusticity. This attitude, with improved educational facilities and increased contacts with Dumaguete, may not be expected to decline. Most young people said they were ashamed to wear abaca clothing to church or to festive events such as the fiesta. As one informant explained:

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> Some people will tease you if you wear abaca clothing. 'Why are you wearing abaca? You look like the old people in the ancient times'--this is what they may say.

Only the children of the poor wore abaca clothing to school in Siaton poblacion.

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With the decline in the number of Caticugan weavers, young girls are not being taught to weave. I never saw a young woman weaving in the barrio; the weavers were always older women. Some young people said they did not wear abaca clothing because no one in their family could weave. Mothers explained their daughters were not interested in learning to weave for they preferred to wear clothing purchased in the poblacion stores. In the past a mature woman

who could weave skillfully was a more desirable mate than one who could not. Difficulties of obtaining abaca fiber, the cost, and the tedious and time-consuming processes of preparing thread, weaving, and processing the woven fabric--plus the growing satorial sophistication of the young generation--militate against weaving in Caticugan. 286 178 868

The most recent event that probably has dealt the coup de grace to any increase of abaca weaving for clothing in the future is the sale of used American clothing; the barriofolk speak of this as "relief clothing." After the last war tons of used American clothing were sent to the islands for rehabilitation purposes. Some of the clothing was sold illegally to the people and a new post-war Philippine business was born. Today used American clothing is imported regularly to the Philippines with Cebu City as a distribution center for the Visayas. Agents go to the city to buy the clothing that they later sell in rural areas through Negros. 286 178 291 438 443

Every Sunday in Siaton poblacion Dumaguete vendors came to sell used American cotton and silk dresses, blouses, and children's clothing. At every fiesta I attended there were vendors who had big piles of used American clothing through which the barriofolk hunted for correct sizes. My impression was that most of the clothing was for women or children. As a result a new source of inexpensive clothing competes with abaca garments--and is modifying the barriofolks' mode of dress. T-shirts are replacing the abaca shirt of the past as cotton trousers have already done. 178 291 438 443